/155 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

• 764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

152
[593]

Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

/157 cont./

593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

• [764]

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

192 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loin-
291 cloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuêio in Nheengatú) (41).

41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

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[764]

278 /289 cont./

757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b)): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead
• [764] were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night
[164] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if
[354] this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 535 2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 • 764 [178] n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tí. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtí (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

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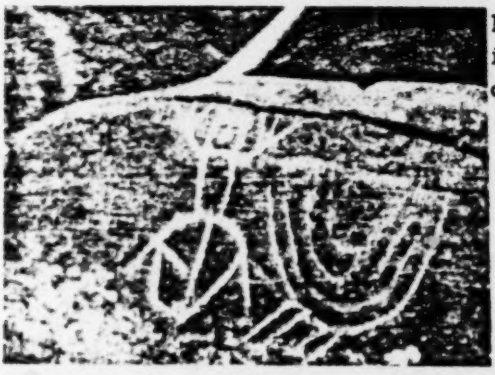

Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

823

Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubu-cuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of wãx-tĩ.

/325 cont./

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

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[756]

They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

• 764
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On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

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/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

[161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsêri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ɨsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
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38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wïx-tï! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
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[192] Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wïx-tï, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/370 cont./

763

/footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

4: Silva--563 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases 763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still 764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-kóró, that is, in a canoe (89).

*[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

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[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/,

[184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubêwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91),

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwɨna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

[797]

> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

/373 cont./

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/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

/374 cont./

• 764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," míhĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of wãx-tĩ?)).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/485 cont./

888 he will face Wãx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

• 764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life.
797 All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

241 423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality.

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bahüdyó* of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyú*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of the sib dug the grave (*tohékatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[8] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórü*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[8] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this, I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father—we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

123 763 The wails increased, the young girl's chant grew louder as she repeated the same notes over and over. The atmosphere in the *maloca* became unbearably tense and, while Horacio read outside, we went down to the river, trying to escape a situation which we could do nothing about. Our minds were not at rest and, when Horacio's drawn figure appeared walking slowly down the sandy track, we could guess what had happened.

'Watsora died five minutes ago,' he said and went back up the path. We said little and silently followed him back to the *maloca*. On the way we passed Kuarumey's old mother. Her normally jovial face was now serious. She avoided our eyes and continued to feed her toucan with beetle grubs. Inside all was silent, the wails had ceased, even the children were quiet and their innocent curiosity had turned to wariness. There was nothing we could do except wait and keep to ourselves. The boat was downstream and we had no means of talking to anyone. The tiny black sandflies converged on us in the stifling heat of the early afternoon. A woman came over to our equipment, undid a tin and took out a handful of rice, looked at the grains, smelt them and then carefully poured them back again, wiping her hands on a kitbag when she had finished.

123 Our anxiety increased. To read or write was impossible. We left the *maloca* to walk across the forest clearing. The question of giving or not giving drugs to the woman before she died had produced one dilemma. Now the question was – what next?

764 Returning later we noticed that the earth in the centre of the floor had been disturbed and fresh yellow clay lay on the surface. None of us had actually seen the corpse, but Donald had seen the young girl, who had been wailing at Watsora's side, take the dead woman's hammock down to the river and wash it. Later we learnt that the Tukano always bury their dead inside the *maloca*. The method is much like that of the Noanamá and the highland burials of the ancient Chibcha. They dig a trench and excavate a horizontal vault about three feet beneath the surface. The corpse, with the knees bound to the chest in the foetal position, is wrapped in his own hammock or in barkcloth and then inserted in the vault which is blocked with leaves, so that earth never touches the body. With the body are placed private possessions: pottery or a basket in the case of a woman; a bow and arrows, coca pouch or snuff-shell in the case of a man. They retain these possessions for the afterlife, the happy hunting grounds where they will travel in spirit.

123 No ceremony could have taken place in so short a time, and the women continued to make cassava, as though nothing had happened. Before the death they were wailing, now they were silent. The people who had once been so ready to smile, the children who normally followed at our side, were aloof and distant. Each one of us was tense and worried and it was a relief when a new face came to the entrance of the *maloca*. He seemed familiar and we recognized one of the Indians we had first met on crossing into the head-

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an
752 accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the
[123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-
753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of
[123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-
756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on
123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*.
[775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be